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ANCIENT AMERICAN RELICS.

[See Frontispiece.]

WE devote our frontispiece this month to a representation, under one view, of ancient American relics. Figure 1 is a fac-simile, both in size and outline, of a carved stone, found at the bottom, and near the centre of an ancient mound or tumulus, now being removed from Mound street near Fifth, in this city. We stop to say that the removal of this mound is regretted by many of the best citizens, as its location was such as to render it a convenient and beautiful monument. A mound which once stood near the junction of Main and Third streets, was necessarily removed to bring the streets to a convenient slope. The removal of this last mound will complete the destruction of all the ancient works so conspicuous on the upper city level, in its first settlement. This mound is about twenty-five feet high. The engraving is an exact representation of the face of the stone, owned by and now in possession of Erasmus Gest, Esq. of this city. It was taken from the mound in December, 1841. The carvings, represented by the white, are about one-twentieth of an inch in depth. It is a dark gray or rather brown sandstone, of an extraordinary sharp grit; it has spots over it, both back and front, as if it had been sprinkled with blood. The carving has been thought to be hieroglyphic, but the regularity of it is opposed to that idea, and induce the thought that it is merely ornamental. Could we suppose those who made it, to be possessed of the art of stamping or printing, we might imagine this stone to be an engraving for that purpose. Its face is almost as even as the engraving from which we print. It will be observed that the two sides, and the two groups in the centre, were intended to be pairs, and yet in them there is not one thing so like its fellow, as to lead us to believe that the art of drawing, was in any good degree of perfection. The divisions on the ends, are done more like the work of an artist than any thing about the stone. The stone is about three-eighths of an inch thick. On the back are three gutters, as represented in figure 2, which is drawn at half dimensions. The gutters have the appearance of having been worn by whetting pointed tools. There are also depressions near the end, which have the appearance of having been worn by whetting small edged tools of the chisel species. With this stone were found parts of a skeleton of a full grown human being,

also two pointed bone instruments about six inches long. There was no appearance of any thing like a grave or vault where these relics lay. From this, about ten feet distant in the mound, and nearly on the same level, were found parts of another skeleton, with a beautiful stone ornament four inches long, two inches wide, and nearly an inch thick, as represented in figure 3; also a stone instrument nine inches long and three wide, figure 4; this is about a fourth of an inch thick. The long straight side has a diamond shaped edge, as if it had been used for dressing leather. These, with several Indian flint arrow-stones, two stone axes, a piece of mica and a bead, &c., as found in the mound at Grave creek, were discovered by, and are in the possession of, Mr. Gridley of Longworth-street. The bead has the appearance of ivory, and has retained some of the original polish. It seems to us more likely to have been manufactured from conch shell or mammoth tooth.

The earth of the mound is composed of light and dark colored layers, as if it had been raised at successive periods, by piling earth of different colors on the top. This appearance might have been produced, by successive layers of vegetation and freezings, which was allowed to act on each layer, before the mound received a succeeding addition to its height. In some parts the layers are completely separated by what appears to have been decayed vegetable matter, such as leaves or grass, as the earth is in complete contact, except a very thin division by some such substance. In some places through the mound, there are vacancies evidently occasioned by the decay of sticks of wood, leaving a most beautiful impalpable powder. Throughout the mound there are spots of charcoal, and in some places it is in beds. In one or two places which we observed, the action of the fire upon the clay has left marks of considerable intensity. Bits of bones, especially of skull bones, are found in many parts of the mound.

We have hazarded no conjectures on the origin or use of these relics, further than was necessary to convey an idea of their appearance, knowing that our surmises are not likely to be more valuable than those of others. We would be extremely pleased if any antiquarian can throw any light on these ancient curiosities. For this purpose, and for the benefit of easy comparison, we again insert, along with the stone found in the mound at Grave creek, figure 5, drawings of the coin found on the Connecticut river, figures 6 and 7. These characters have been conjectured to be Phenician letters.

AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES AT GRAVE CREEK.

THE following graphic account of the mammoth mound, &c. at Grave creek, was obtained from A. B. Tomlinson, the proprietor. Great praise is due to him for his careful preservation of that tremendous structure of ancient American aboriginal industry. His museum will, with care, become one of the most interesting in the West. Many of our towns, Vandal-like, have destroyed their ancient curiosities. What a pity!

From A. B. Boreman, Esq., of Elizabethtown, we received a fac-simile

of the engraving of the stone. We extract from his letter the following, but as Mr. Tomlinson's account is the most full, we give it entire.

"The fac-simile gives the true shape and size of the stone; its color is dark and of a grayish caste. It was found in the above mentioned mound by Mr. A. B. Tomlinson in 1838, while excavating it, a short distance from the centre, and near one of the skeletons found therein. The characters engraved on this stone have produced excitement in the different parts of the United States, unto which the fac-similes have been transmitted, and also in Europe. I have been informed, that the antiquarians of England, more particularly, have been exerting their minds and historical faculties, in order to decipher those characters, and discover something by which they can trace them to their origin. This is a problem which, if solved, would no doubt throw some light on the antiquities of America. There are a great many mounds in the vicinity and country surrounding Elizabethtown, some of which have been digged down, in which there has been found a great number of bones of human beings, among which were skulls, &c. Copper beads have also been found, and a number of stone tubes ten and one-half inches in length, having a calibre of three-fourths of an inch, some of which were full of something which might be called red-paint of a light shade, with other things of a similar character. But I will proceed to the description of the mammoth mound. It is beautifully situated on the same extensive plain, and within the suburbs of Elizabethtown, two hundred and fifty yards from the court house, and a quarter of a mile from the Ohio river. Its altitude is sixty-nine feet, the circumference of its base is a little more than three hundred yards. Its shape is that of a frustum of a cone, being flat on the top, and the distance across is fifty feet."

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MR. TOMLINSON'S LETTER.

Flats of Grave creek—Settlement—Elizabethtown—Mammoth mound—Its antiquity—Horizontal excavation—Lower vault—Its contents—Perpendicular excavation—Upper vault—Its contents—Trinkets—Skeletons—Their state of preservation—Their character—Beads, &c., how situated—Kinds of earth—Preservation of vaults—Arrangement of Curiosities—Observatory—Stone image and other relics.

J. S. WILLIAMS, Esq.

Sir—The flats of Grave creek are a large scope of bottom land in Marshall county, Virginia, and on the eastern shore of the Ohio river, which here runs due south. They extend from north to south about four miles, and contain about three thousand acres. Big and Little Grave creeks both empty into the Ohio at these flats, from which they derive their names. The creeks themselves doubtless derived their names from various tumulus or mounds, commonly called Indian graves, which are found on these flats, and especially between the

two creeks. Little Grave creek enters the flats at the upper end and runs parallel with the Ohio about three miles, and then turns at right angles and enters the river one mile above the Big creek, which occupies the lower termination of the flats. These creeks are what are called mill-streams, and of course are not navigable. These flats are composed of first and second bottoms. The first bottom is about two hundred yards wide, and runs the whole length of the flats. The great flood of 1832 was about ten feet deep on the first, but lacked from ten to twenty feet of the height of the second bottom, on which all the ancient Indian works and mounds are situated; no signs of them being on the lower land. It may reasonably be inferred that the brow of the second bottom was the bank of the river, when these ancient works were erected. This I believe is not an uncommon circumstance where mounds and ancient works appear near the streams that have first and second bottoms.

The flats were early settled. My grandfather settled on them in 1772, two years before the murder of Logan's family. It was to these flats that young Cresap pursued the Indians as related by colonel Ebenezer Zane in his affidavit, published in the appendix to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. There are many interesting incidents, connected with the settlement of these flats, which I may at another time communicate, from the lips of my father, but as those incidents are not my present subject, I will proceed.

Elizabethtown is about twelve miles below Wheeling, and is situated on the second bottom, near the mouth of Little Grave creek, and at the widest part of the flats; it is the seat of justice for Marshall county.

In the suburbs of Elizabethtown stands what is called the mammoth mound, which with its contents is made the subject of this narrative. This mound is surrounded by various other mounds and ancient works, and in respect to the surrounding localities, the situation, as respects defence, was well chosen, on the brow of the second bottom, and partially encompassed by steeps and ravines. The mammoth mound is sixty-nine feet high. Its circumference at the base is over three hundred yards. It is the frustum of a cone, and has a flat top of fifty feet in diameter. This flat on the top of the mound, until lately, was dish shaped. The depth of the depression in the centre was three feet, and its width forty feet. This depression was doubtless occasioned by the falling in of two vaults, which were originally constructed in the mound, but which afterwards fell in; the earth sinking over them, occasioned the depression on the top.

This mound was discovered by my grandfather soon after he

settled the flats, and was covered with as large timbers as any in the surrounding forests, and as close together. The centre of the hollow on the top was occupied by a large beech. This mound was early and much visited. Dates were cut on this beech as early as 1734! It was literally covered with names and dates to the height of ten feet; none of a more remote period than the above, most of them were added after the country began to be settled—mostly from 1770 to 1790. On the very summit of the mound stood a white oak, which seemed to die of old age about fifteen years ago. It stood on the western edge of the dish. We cut it off, and with great care and nicety counted the growths, which evidently showed the tree to have been about five hundred years old when it died. It carried its thickness well for about fifty feet, where it branched into several large limbs. Top and all, it was about seventy feet high, which, added to the height of the mound, might well have been styled, the ancient monarch of the Flats, if not of the forest. A black oak stands now on the east side of the mound, which is as large as the white oak was, but it is situated on the side of the mound, about ten feet lower than the throne of the white oak, to which it may now be proclaimed the rightful heir.

Prompted by curiosity or some other cause, on the 19th of March, 1838, we commenced an excavation in this mound. I wrought at it myself from the commencement to the termination, and what I am about to tell you is from my own personal observation, which, if necessary, could be substantiated by others. We commenced on the north side, and excavated towards the centre. Our horizontal shaft was ten feet high and seven feet wide, and ran on the natural surface of the ground or floor of the mound.

At the distance of one hundred and eleven feet we came to a vault that had been excavated in the natural earth before the mound was commenced. This vault was dug out eight by twelve feet square and seven feet deep. Along each side and the two ends upright timbers were placed, which supported timbers that were thrown across the vault, and formed for a time its ceiling. These timbers were covered over with loose unhewn stone, of the same quality as is common in the neighborhood. These timbers rotted, and the stone tumbled into the vault; the earth of the mound following, quite filled it. the timbers were entirely deranged, but could be traced by the rotten wood, which was in such a condition as to be rubbed to pieces between the fingers. This vault was as dry as any tight room; its sides very nearly corresponded with the cardinal points of the compass, and it was lengthwise from north to south.

In this vault were found two human skeletons, one of which had no ornaments or artificial work of any kind about it. The other was surrounded by six hundred and fifty ivory beads, and an ivory ornament about six inches long of this shape, [see figure 8.] It is one and five-eighths inches wide in the middle, and half an inch wide at the ends, with two holes through it of one-eighth of an inch diameter, and shaped as in the drawing. It is flat on one side and oval shaped on the other. The beads resemble button moles, and vary in diameter from three to five-eighths of an inch. In thickness they vary from that of common pasteboard to one-fourth of an inch; the size of the holes through them varying with the diameter of the beads from one-eighth of an inch in the largest. Some of the beads are in a good state of preservation, retaining even the original polish; others, not so favorably situated, are decayed—some crumbled to dust. Above I count only the whole ones left. The large ornament is in a good state of preservation, but is somewhat corroded. The first skeleton we found on the 4th of April, and the second on the 16th, but I shall speak more particularly of these further on.

After searching this vault, we commenced a shaft ten feet in diameter, at the centre of the mound on top, and in the bottom of the depression before spoken of. At the depth of thirty-four or thirty-five feet above the vault at the bottom, we discovered another vault, which occupied the middle space between the bottom and the top. The shaft we continued quite down through the mound to our first excavation.

The second or upper vault was discovered on the 9th of June. It had been constructed in every respect like that at the base of the mound, except that its length lay east and west, or across that at the base, but perpendicularly over it. It was equally filled with earth, rotten wood, stones, &c., by the falling in of the ceiling. The floor of this vault was also sunken by the falling in of the lower one, with the exception of a portion of one end.

In the upper vault was found one skeleton only, but many trinkets, as seventeen hundred ivory beads, five hundred sea shells of the involute species, that were worn as beads, and five copper bracelets that were about the wrist bones of the skeleton. There were also one hundred and fifty pieces of isinglass [mica,] and the stone, a fac simile drawing of which I send you herewith, [see figure 5.] The stone is flat on both sides, and is about three-eighths of an inch thick. It has no engraving on it, except on one side, as sent you. There is no appearance of any hole or ear, as if it had been worn as a medal. The drawing is the exact size of it. It is sandstone of a very fine and close

grit. The beads found in this vault were like those found in the lower one, as to size, materials, decay, &c. The shells were three-eighths of an inch long and one-fourth of an inch in diameter at the swell or largest part. The bracelets are of pure copper, coated with rust as thick as brown paper. They are an oblong circle. The inner diameter of one is two and one-fourth inches one way, and two and five-eighths the other. They vary in size and thickness: the largest is half an inch thick, and the smallest half that thickness. They were made of round bars bent so that the ends came together, which forms the circle. The five bracelets weigh seventeen ounces. The pieces of isinglass are but little thicker than writing paper, and are generally from one and a-half to two inches square; each piece had two or three holes through it about the size of a knitting needle, most likely for the purpose of sewing or in some way fastening them to the clothing.

The beads were found about the neck and breast bones of the skeletons. The sea shells were in like manner distributed over the neck and breast bones of the skeleton in the upper vault. The bracelets were around the wrist bones. The pieces of isinglass were strewed all over the body. What a gorgeous looking object this monarch must have been! Five bracelets shining on the wrists, seventeen beads, and five hundred sea shells, that we found whole about his breast and neck, besides one hundred and fifty brilliants of mica on all parts of his body! no doubt oft the object of the throng's admiring gaze. The stone with the characters on it was found about two feet from the skeleton; could it be read, doubtless would tell something of the history of this illustrious dead, interred high above his quite gorgeous companion in the lower story.

The skeleton first found in the lower vault, was found lying on the back, parallel with and close to the west side of the vault. The feet were about the middle of the vault; its body was extended at full length; the left arm was lying along the left side; the right arm as if raised over the head, the bones lying near the right ear and crossed over the crown of the head. The head of this skeleton was toward the south. There were no ornaments found with it. The earth had fallen and covered it over before the ceiling fell, and thus protected it was not much broken. We have it preserved for the inspection of visitors; it is five feet nine inches high, and has a full and perfect set of teeth in a good state of preservation; the head is of a fine intellectual mould; whether male or female cannot be ascertained, as the pelvis was broken. Opinions differ as to the sex; my own is, that it is that of a male.

The second skeleton found in this vault, and which had the trinkets about it, lay on the west side, with the head to the east, or in the same direction as that on the opposite side. The feet of this one were likewise near the centre of the west side. The earth had not crumbled down over it before the ceiling fell, consequently it was much broken, (as was also that in the upper vault.) There is nothing in the remains of any of these skeletons which differs materially from those of common people.

The skeleton in the upper vault lay with its feet against the south side of the vault, and the head towards the north east. It is highly probable that the corpses were all placed in a standing position, and subsequently fell. Those in the lower vault most likely stood on the east and west side, opposite to each other; and the one in the upper vault on the south side.

The mound is composed of the same kind of earth as that around it, being a fine loamy sand, but differs very much in color from that of the natural ground. After penetrating about eight feet with the first or horizontal excavation, blue spots began to appear in the earth of which the mound is composed. On close examination, these spots were found to contain ashes and bits of burnt bones. These spots increased as we approached the centre; at the distance of one hundred and twenty feet within, the spots were so numerous and condensed as to give the earth a clouded appearance, and excited the admiration of all who saw it. Every part of the mound presents the same appearance, except near the surface. I am convinced that the blue spots were occasioned by depositing the remains of bodies consumed by fire. I am also of the opinion that the upper vault was constructed long after the lower one, but for this opinion I do not know that there is any evidence.

We have overlaid the first excavation, from the side to the centre, with brick, and paved the bottom. We excavated the vault in the centre twenty-eight feet in diameter and nine feet high. It is well walled with brick and neatly plastered. The rotunda or shaft in the centre is also walled with brick. The foundation of the rotunda is in the centre of the lower vault, and around this we have made departments for the safe keeping of the relics nearly where they were found; this vault we light with twenty candles, for the accommodation of visitors, many of whom have seen it.

Upon the top of the mound, and directly over the rotunda, we have erected a three-story frame building, which we call an observatory. The lower story is thirty-two feet in diameter, the second story is twenty-six feet, and the upper story ten. This manner of construct-

ing the building accommodates the visitor with a walk quite round on the top of each story, and a good stand for observation on the top. From either of these elevations the visitor has an unobstructed view of the surrounding country and river to a considerable distance. It is our intention to run a winding stairway from the bottom of the mound through the rotunda and observatory to the top. The height of this stairway will be over one hundred feet. The observatory was built in 1837.

In addition to the relics found in the mammoth mound, I have a great number and variety of relics found in the neighborhood; many of them were found with skeletons which were nearly decayed. I have some beads, found about two miles from this great mound, that are evidently a kind of porcelain, and very similar if not identical in substance with artificial teeth set by dentists. I have also an image of stone, found with other relics about eight miles distant; it is in human shape, sitting in a cramped position, the face and eyes projecting upwards; the nose is what is called Roman. On the crown of the head is a knot, in which the hair is concentrated and tied. The head and features particularly is a display of great workmanship and ingenuity: it is eleven inches in height, but if it were straight would be double that height. It is generally believed to have been an idol.

Your friend,

A B Tomlinson

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WEST.

NUMBER IV.

Pittsburgh—Education—Jefferson College—Harmer's expedition against the Indians—
St. Clair's expedition and defeat.

THE New Orleans trade gave new life to the country. It furnished specie for paying taxes, and purchasing such necessities as could not be obtained for barter. Pittsburgh profited greatly by this trade. Although but a small village, composed principally of log houses, yet it was then, as now, the central point of business for the country west of the mountains. The produce of the country was here exchanged for goods, chiefly obtained from Philadelphia. This was also the place of embarkation for all the military and mercantile expeditions, as well as emigrants, for the lower country, and the resort of boat-builders, boatmen and pilots for the river. Being a military post, a considerable amount of government money was annually expended here. These advantages made it a favorable location for

merchants and mechanics, who found a ready demand for their iron, leather, hats, &c. The character of the citizens for sobriety and good morals was such, that farmers in the neighborhood sought to apprentice their sons to the mechanics of Pittsburgh; and these hardy boys from the country rarely became dissipated, but grew up orderly and industrious, thus perpetuating the character for purity of morals, which the place still enjoys. Pittsburgh owes much of this reputation to John Wilkins, a magistrate under whose administration every violation of the law was promptly punished. Even the lawless boatmen stood in awe of him.

The subject of education was sadly neglected, both in Pittsburgh and the surrounding country. The first settlers were mostly Scotch and Irish, who, though sober, industrious and enterprising, prompt to relieve the distressed, and generous to assist the needy, yet had little taste for public improvement, and rarely contributed voluntarily for the promotion of any public object. They even paid their road tax grudgingly. They built no bridges, and would leave a tree, accidentally fallen across the road, to lie there until it rotted. Their neglect of providing the means of education for their children was, however, their great error. While struggling with adversity, and combating the Indians, the establishment of schools in many of the frontier settlements, was out of the question; but after peace with the Indians had been effected, and provisions became abundant, there was no apology for neglecting the subject of education. Their school houses, when they were induced to build any, were of the cheapest and most uninviting kind, built of logs, open, low and smoky, lighted with one, or at most, two windows of greased paper. The school-master was hired at the lowest wages, and was generally one, who could get no other employment, and whose chief qualification was knowing how to use the rod. From such means of instruction little benefit could be expected. The boys of that day were brought up under circumstances, which early inspired them with a wild, adventurous spirit, and gave them a premature ability for usefulness in the field. They very naturally preferred joining the men at their labor, to being confined in the house, to the study of Dillworth's Spelling-Book, or John Rogers' Primer, the only school books I ever saw when a child. The scarcity of books was a great hindrance to those who had a taste for study. If a boy resolved to apply his leisure moments to reading, he was perhaps limited to Young's Night Thoughts, Hervey's Meditations, and Knox's History of the Church of Scotland. In the absence of other means of improvement, debating clubs were formed in some neighborhoods, which boys in their teens would attend once

a week, from a distance of several miles. These meetings were encouraged by the parents, who frequently attended. Some of the members rose to high places in after life, and no doubt much of their success was owing to the stimulus which their minds received from these youthful associations.

There was a feeble effort made in Pittsburgh and Washington, to provide the means of education, and a successful one at Canonsburgh, by a few enlightened men, at the head of whom was the Rev. Mr. McMullen. A college was early established, which has continued to be an eminently useful institution.

The general government made but feeble efforts to protect the frontier settlements on the Ohio, until after the adoption of the new constitution. Only a few companies of regular troops were stationed there. In 1791 the government, yielding to the pressing importunities of the West, appointed general Harmer to the command of the western posts, preparatory to a campaign against the Indians. A draft was made on the militia of western Pennsylvania and Kentucky for twelve hundred men, who repaired to Fort Washington, where they were joined by three hundred regulars, and marched into the Indian country. The Indians refused battle to the main body, but defeated one detachment of several hundred men on the Scioto, and routed with great slaughter, a still larger detachment on the Au Glaize. A large proportion of the killed, were of course militia. Both Kentucky and western Pennsylvania were filled with mourning. The Indians, elated with their success, renewed their attacks on the frontier with increased force and ferocity. Meetings were called to devise means for defending the settlements. The policy of employing regular officers to command militia was denounced; and petitions were extensively circulated, praying the President to employ militia only in defence of the frontier, and offering to embody immediately a sufficient force to carry the war into the Indian country.

The President did not favor the prayer of the petitioners, but increased the regular army on the frontier, and appointed general St. Clair to the command. Energetic measures were adopted to furnish him with arms, stores, &c. for an early campaign, but the difficulties and delays incident to furnishing an army, so far removed from military depots, with cannon, ammunition, provisions, and the means of transportation, were so great, that much time was lost before general St. Clair was able to move his army from Fort Washington; and then it was said to be in obedience to express orders, and against his own judgment, as he was neither provided with sufficient force, nor the means of transportation. He was attacked and most signally defeat-

ed. The killed and mortally wounded were over seven hundred. The cannon, camp equipage and baggage of the army fell into the hands of the Indians. The disastrous failure of this campaign increased the growing dissatisfaction of the settlers in western Pennsylvania to the administration of the general government.

NUMBER V.

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION.

Western people dissatisfied with the government—Appointment of Wayne—Commencement of the insurrection—Causes which led to it—Appointment of General Neville—His house assailed and burnt—The painfulness of the sight—Outrages of the insurgents—Meeting in Braddock's field—Appointment of a convention at Parkenson's ferry.

THE federal constitution, which had recently been adopted, was not generally approved of in this section of the country. Many believed that the new government would usurp the power of the states, destroy the liberties of the people, and end in a consolidated aristocracy, if not in a monarchy. It was even alledged by many that the reason why general Washington had refused to entrust the defence of the frontiers to the people themselves, was his desire to increase the regular army, that it might be ultimately used for destroying their liberties.

The defeat of general St. Clair's army exposed the whole range of the frontier settlements on the Ohio, to the fury of the Indians. The several settlements made the best arrangements in their power for their own defence. The government took measures for recruiting, as soon as possible, the western army. General Wayne, a favorite with the western people, was appointed to the command; but a factious opposition in congress to the military and financial plans of the administration, delayed the equipment of the army for nearly two years.

While general Wayne was preparing to penetrate the Indian country in the summer of 1794, the attention of the Indians was drawn to their own defence, and the frontiers were relieved from their attacks. But western Pennsylvania, although relieved from war, seemed to have no relish for peace. Having been some time engaged in resisting the revenue laws, her opposition was now increased to insurrection.

The seeds of party had been early sown, and had taken deep root in the western counties. Every act of the general government which manifested a spirit of conciliation towards the British, (who were charged with inciting the Indians to war on the frontier,) was regarded with marked disapprobation. The Irish population, which prevailed in the country, generally sympathized with the French,

and felt the most lively interest in the French revolution, and the highest respect for their diplomatic agents in this country, who were then engaged in collisions with our government. The neutral policy which was adopted in relation to France and England, was unpopular. Democratic societies were formed in every part of the country, and the measures of the government denounced, especially the act laying a duty on distilled spirits. This temper of disaffection was inflamed by the extensive circulation of newspapers, the organs of the French party, and of speeches of members of congress in the French interest, and opposed to the administration. The ordinary means of counteracting the influence of these mischievous publications were limited. The newspapers which defended the policy of the government had but little circulation in the West, and the friends of the administration neglected, until it was too late, to disabuse the public mind.

The resistance to the excise law, from its first enactment, had been so decided and general, that the president, desiring to remove its most objectionable features, recommended to congress a modification of the act. This was done. The concession, however, served only to increase the opposition. Every expedient was adopted to avoid the payment of the duties. In order to allay opposition as far as possible, general John Neville, a man of the most deserved popularity, was appointed collector for western Pennsylvania. He accepted the appointment from a sense of duty to his country. He was one of the few men of great wealth, who had put his all at hazard for independence. At his own expense he raised and equipped a company of soldiers, marched them to Boston, and placed them with his son under the command of general Washington. He was the brother-in-law to the distinguished general Morgan, and father-in-law to majors Craig and Kirkpatrick, officers highly respected in the western country. Besides general Neville's claims as a soldier and patriot, he had contributed greatly to relieve the sufferings of the settlers in his vicinity. He divided his last loaf with the needy; and in a season of more than ordinary scarcity, as soon as his wheat was sufficiently matured to be converted into food, he opened his fields to those who were suffering with hunger. If any man could have executed this odious law, general Neville was that man. He entered upon the duties of his office, and appointed his deputies from among the most popular citizens. The first attempts however to enforce the law were resisted. One or more deputies were tarred and feathered, others were compelled to give up their appointments, to avoid like treatment. The opposers of the law, having proceeded to open acts

of resistance, now assumed a still bolder attitude. An assembly of several hundred men proceeded in the night to general Neville's house, and demanded the surrender of his commission; but, finding him prepared for defence, they attempted no violence. He had not doubted that there was sufficient patriotism in the country to enable the civil authorities to protect him in the discharge of his duty, but in this he was mistaken. The magistrates were powerless. Their authority was set at defiance.

Although a large majority of the disaffected never dreamed of carrying their opposition to the measures of government to open resistance, yet they had aided to create a tempest which they could neither direct nor allay. The population received a large increase yearly of Irish emigrants, who had been obliged to leave their own country, on account of opposition to its government; besides which, there was a large floating population who had found employment in guarding the frontiers, and who had nothing to lose by insurrection. Both of these classes joined the insurgent party, and even forced them to adopt more extreme measures, than they had at first contemplated. They at length proceeded so far as to form an organized resistance to the law. Meetings were held, and officers appointed in the most excited districts. Several hundred men volunteered to take general Neville into immediate custody. His friends in Pittsburgh, being apprised of these movements, advised that measures should be adopted for his protection. But they were greatly mistaken in relation to the amount of force which would be requisite. Major Kirkpatrick, with only a dozen soldiers from the garrison at Pittsburgh, repaired to general Neville's house, which was that very evening, (July 15, 1794,) surrounded by about five hundred men. The general, yielding to the importunity of his friends, had, on the approach of the insurgents, withdrawn from his house, accompanied by his servant. The assailants demanded that the general and his papers, should be given up to them. On being refused a fire was commenced, which continued some time until major McFarland, an influential citizen, who was one of the assailants, was shot.

General Neville's house was situated on an elevated plain which overlooked the surrounding country. A range of negro houses was on one side, and barns and stables on the other. These were fired by the assailants, and when the flames were about to communicate with the dwelling house, the party within surrendered. The soldiers were dismissed. The son of general Neville, who came up during the attack, was taken prisoner, but with Kirkpatrick, was released on condition of leaving the country.

This violent outrage produced a strong sensation. It was in the season of harvest, when the people of the surrounding country were collected in groups to aid each other in cutting their grain. During the day it became known, that preparations were making to take general Neville. As he could call to his aid nearly a hundred of his faithful slaves, who had learned the use of arms in the Indian war, it was believed that he would defend himself. Few, if any of the immediate neighbors of the general, were engaged in the attack, but instead of going to his defence, they collected from a distance of several miles around, and selected the most favorable positions in the neighborhood for listening to, or seeing the anticipated attack. At about ten o'clock in the evening, I witnessed the commencement of the fire, at a distance of two miles, and saw the flames ascend from the burning houses until the actors in the scene became visible in the increasing light. It was a painful sight, especially to those who had experienced the hospitality of the only fine mansion in the country, to see it destroyed by a lawless mob, and its inmates exposed to their fury. Even those who were opposed to the measures of the administration, and had countenanced resistance to the execution of the excise law, were overwhelmed at this appalling commencement of open insurrection. Meetings were proposed by the friends of order, for the purpose of concerting measures for their own security; but so much time was lost in deliberation, that the insurgents became too strong to be resisted.

Men of property and influence, who had become compromitted in the destruction of general Neville's house, exerted themselves to involve the whole country in open resistance to the laws. Several officers of the government, and others whose influence were feared, were forced to leave the country. The mail was robbed, and the names of the writers of several letters found in it, were added to the list of the proscribed. Those who were thus expelled their country, dared not take the usual road across the mountains, but were compelled to proceed by a dangerous and circuitous route through the wilderness.

The insurgents seemed resolved that there should be no neutrals in the country. Immediately after the first outbreak they called a general meeting of the militia at Braddock's field, to decide upon the measures which should be farther taken in relation to the excise. Seven or eight thousand assembled, and an attorney from Washington, named Bradford, assumed the command. He was a blustering demagogue, and destitute of the courage and decision necessary to direct an insurrection. The leaders had no plan digested for future action,

nor could this extraordinary assemblage, whose grotesque appearance it would require a Falstaff to describe, tell for what purpose they had come together. A committee was appointed to deliberate. Hugh Henry Breckenridge, a distinguished lawyer of Pittsburgh, who filled a large space in the country, and was known as an opposer of some of the measures of the administration, and therefore presumed to be in favor of resistance, was appointed on this committee. Possessing great power of persuasion, he succeeded in preventing the committee from recommending energetic measures, and urged moderation until the effect of their past resistance should be known. The report of the committee merely recommended the holding of a meeting by delegates from the several towns in the country, at Parkinson's ferry, a few weeks ensuing. On receiving this report much dissatisfaction was manifested; the assembly however dispersed, two or three thousand men only marching in a body to Pittsburgh. A portion of these proposed to burn the place, but the kindness of the citizens in supplying them with provisions, and the influence of the more respectable of their associates induced them to leave the village unharmed. They contented themselves with burning the mansion of major Kirkpatrick in the vicinity. Many of the most active insurgents traversed the country, to ensure a general election of delegates to the convention which was to be held in the month of August. In the meantime, the people were in a state of great alarm. Parties of the most reckless of the insurgents, freed from all restraints of law, paraded the country, and threatened destruction to all tories and aristocrats, (epithets applied to all who did not join them.) In the face of all these dangers, however, many of the towns sent as delegates, friends of law, and supporters of the administration.

NUMBER VI.

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION.

Convention at Parkinson's ferry—Amnesty proposed—News of Wayne's victory operates favorably—Amnesty agreed to—Army sent out—Gen. Hamilton's court—Oppression—An instance of it—Army settled—Excise laws enforced—Advantages of the insurrection to the West—Popular use of spirits—Exportation of—Oppressive character of the whisky tax—Hazards of agriculture—Apologies for the insurgents.

THE president, desirous to avoid the use of force, had appointed three commissioners to repair to the western country, and offer pardon to all offenders who would return to their duty, and submit to the laws. These commissioners arrived about the time of the meeting of the convention. Some of the delegates to the convention were men of distinguished ability, at the head of whom was Albert Gallatin. Although a foreigner, who could with difficulty make himself understood in English, yet he presented with great force the folly of

past resistance, and the ruinous consequences to the country of the continuance of the insurrection. He urged that the government was bound to vindicate the laws, and that it would surely send an overwhelming force against them, unless the proposed amnesty was accepted. Mr. Gallatin placed the subject in a new light, and showed the insurrection to be a much more serious affair than it had before appeared. The ardor of the most reckless was moderated. A conference was had with the government commissioners, and the question, whether the country should submit or not, was earnestly discussed. A strong disposition was manifested to accept of the terms proposed. The acts of violence which had already been committed, made some of the leaders tremble in view of what might follow. The machinery of the so called democratic clubs was found not to work so well in this country as in Paris; and Lynch law, executed by a set of desperadoes, was proved to be a poor exchange for the protection of law regularly administered. Many who had been seduced from their allegiance repented of their folly, and would gladly have retraced their steps, but this it was not easy to do. They dreaded the vengeance of their associates. "The Sons of Liberty," as the insurgents styled themselves, could not bear traitors, and those who forsook their party were exposed to they knew not what acts of violence and outrage. For, notwithstanding the returning good sense of many, there were others who still entertained such deep rooted prejudices against the administration, and who had imbibed such wild notions of liberty, that they desired the separation of the West from the Union. They were deceived by exaggerated accounts of the disaffection which prevailed throughout Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and western Virginia. It had been represented from these places, that if western Pennsylvania would successfully resist for a few months, their cause would be espoused by a party so strong as to set the general government at defiance.

Although the convention was in favor of submission, yet as its constituents had not delegated to it the power of settling that question, it was concluded to refer it back to the people, who in town meetings should decide it for themselves.

Early in September the gratifying news was received, that Gen. Wayne had gained a signal victory over the combined force of the Indians on the Maumee. This news operated favorably for the government. It not only removed the dissatisfaction to which the great delays attending the campaign had given rise, but it was the best possible illustration of the benefits to be derived from the protection of the general government, which had been greatly under-

rated. As a permanent peace with the Indians was now considered certain, this increased the desire for tranquillity at home.

The citizens convened in town meetings to consider the terms of submission proposed by the commissioners of the government, printed copies of which had been distributed through the country. In some townships the meetings failed entirely, in others they were interrupted and dispersed before having accomplished any business. But in a large majority of the townships the attendance was general, good order was preserved, and the submission papers very generally signed. These results inspired the friends of government with courage, and greatly dispirited the insurgents. By the first of October tranquillity and good order were in a great measure restored.

But, as the malcontents were still sufficiently numerous to resist the execution of the revenue laws, the government marched forward the army which they had for some time been organizing, consisting of about fourteen thousand militia from Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. An unusual quantity of rain having fallen during the autumn, the army suffered greatly on their march, particularly several regiments composed of mechanics, merchants, and others from the cities, who were not inured to such hardships. They became so disheartened that if the passes of the mountains had been disputed by only a thousand resolute insurgents, the army might have been greatly embarrassed if not defeated. But they met no resistance either in the mountains or the infected districts. Bradford and a few others who had the most to fear, fled to the Spanish country on the Mississippi; others equally guilty, but less notorious, offenders sought security in sequestered settlements. "Not a dog wagged his tongue" against the army, which advanced to Pittsburgh and took up their quarters.

General Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, who represented the government, had his quarters soon thronged with informers, and those who had suffered from the insurgents, and sought compensation. A kind of inquisitorial court was opened, in which testimony was taken against individuals denounced for treasonable acts or expressions. Many of the informers, influenced by prejudice or malice, implicated those who had been guilty of no offence against the government.

After a few days spent in these "star chamber" proceedings, the dragoons were put in requisition, and the officers, furnished with the names of the offenders, proceeded with guides, of whom there was no lack, to arrest them. Such of the proscribed as apprehended no danger were soon taken, and, without any intimation of the offence

with which they stood charged, or time for preparation, about three hundred were carried to Pittsburgh. Here many found acquaintances and influential friends, who interposed in their behalf and obtained their immediate release; others, less fortunate, were sent to Philadelphia for trial, where they were imprisoned for ten or twelve months without even indictments being found against them. But few of the really guilty were taken, while many who had committed no offence against the laws, but unfortunately had fallen under the displeasure of an informer, suffered the punishment due only to the guilty. The following may serve as an instance.

A lieutenant of the army, while it was halting at Pittsburgh, visited his uncle in the vicinity, and accompanied him to a husking party, where, on using the term rebel as applicable to the citizens generally, he was rebuked by a respectable old man of the party. The officer replied insolently, upon which a young man (for young men in that day always felt bound to protect the aged) interposed and would have treated him with deserved severity had not my father begged him off. The officer returned to Pittsburgh, and the next day both of those who had offended him at the husking were arrested. The young man found friends who procured his liberation, but the old man, notwithstanding efforts were made for his release, was carried to Philadelphia and imprisoned for more than six months without trial.

I believe that but a single individual was tried—this was one of the mail robbers, who was convicted of treason and sentenced to be hung, but was finally pardoned.

The army remained at Pittsburgh only long enough to recruit from their fatigue, and receive their pay. Many of them, disgusted with a soldier's life, obtained their discharge and either settled in the country or purchased horses on which to return home. A few battalions only of the army were retained in the country through the winter; the remainder resumed their march and re-crossed the mountains.

In order more effectually to eradicate the insurrectionary spirit which had disturbed the country, a regiment of dragoons was enlisted for six months from such citizens as were well affected towards the government, and stationed in the several settlements. A detachment of this force was kept constantly in motion. Sometimes they accompanied the excise officers, who visited every distillery in the country. Some of them being situated in deep ravines, remote from traveled roads, had escaped the notice of the excise officers before the insurrection, but they were now brought to light, as there were informers enough to disclose all delinquencies. The excise law did

not impose a duty per gallon, but a specific sum computed on the capacity of the still for each month that it was licensed to run. Distillers every where submitted to this law, although their opinions of its justice or policy might not have undergone any great change. Those who had worked their stills secretly, or in open disregard of the law, were now compelled either to pay up or secure all arrearages before they could obtain license.

During the winter many of the most desperate of the agitators left the country. In the spring the military was withdrawn, and business resumed its wonted course.

The insurrection for a time threatened the most disastrous consequences, and if it had not been promptly crushed might have subverted the government; yet it was not without its advantages. Its suppression tested the patriotism of the people and their attachment to the constitution, points on which there had been much doubt both at home and abroad. The practical experiment of raising a large army by drafts of militia from several states, and marching them in an inclement season under great privations several hundred miles to suppress a revolt, was a most gratifying evidence that the government was founded in the affections of the people, and that however they might differ about the mode of its administration, yet the government itself would be sustained.

Nor was it the government alone that profited by the insurrection; the rapid growth of the country west of the mountains may be dated from that period. Although the country had for years abounded in stock and provisions, yet there was no home market where either could be sold for cash. There was but little money in circulation, and, of course, but little stimulus to industry. The price of a cow in barter was about five dollars, and of a good horse from ten to twenty dollars; wheat was about thirty cents a bushel. But the army created a demand both for provisions and horses, which increased their value from one hundred to three hundred per cent. Nearly a million dollars of government money was paid out in the country. Had western Pennsylvania been compelled to refund this amount as the penalty of her revolt, she would still have been a gainer. A large accession of settlers from the army greatly increased the price of land, money became plenty, and a cash home-market was established.

But the prosperity which resulted from the insurrection did not wipe away its reproach. The character of the people suffered greatly, and the more so as the actual causes of this insurrection were misunderstood and misrepresented. It has generally been believed that the western people were so devoid of patriotism, and so insensible to the

blessings of a free government, that they refused to be taxed for its support; and that they regarded whisky so necessary an article of consumption as to be unwilling to have its price enhanced by a duty. These opinions do them great injustice. Although the citizens generally were in the habit of drinking whisky, yet, strange as it may appear at this day, they were not drunkards. The custom of the country was to furnish whisky in harvest; and at all collections of neighbors to aid each other in log rollings, raising cabins, or husking corn, whisky was indispensable. The prevailing forms of hospitality could not be carried out without it. If one neighbor called on another to make a visit or do an errand, the bottle and a cup of water were invariably presented him, after being first tasted by the host, who drank to the health of his guest. Women treated their visitors with whisky made palatable with sugar, milk, and spices. It was used as a medicine in several diseases, and proved an unfailing remedy in some. Among laborers the bottle was passed around, and there was always some kind-hearted man to see that the little boys were not forgotten. Morning bitters were generally used, and a dram before meals. But this common use of liquor was not limited to western Pennsylvania, it prevailed in all the new settlements, if not over the United States.

There was nothing, at that day, disreputable in either drinking or making whisky. Distilling was esteemed as moral and as respectable as any other business. It was early commenced and extensively carried on in western Pennsylvania. There was neither home nor foreign market for rye, the principal grain then raised in that part of the country, and which was a profitable and sure crop. The grain would not bear packing across the mountains; a horse could not carry more than four bushels of it, but could carry the product of twenty-four bushels when converted into high wines, which found a market east of the mountains, and could be used in the purchase of salt, goods, &c. The settlers at an early day calculated that the whisky trade would become a great source of wealth to the country, when the right way to New Orleans should have been settled and that market fully opened to their produce. Monongahela whisky was reputed to be superior to any in the United States, and had the preference in every market. There was very naturally a general disposition to engage in distilling, as the only business which promised sure gain; and the people of western Pennsylvania regarded a tax on whisky in the same light as the citizens of Ohio would now regard a United States tax on lard, pork, or flour.

There were many aggravating circumstances calculated to render

the whisky tax odious, and to array the western people in hostility to the government. For years they had suffered unspeakable hardships and privations; the government had neither protected the frontiers from Indian massacres, nor paid the militia service of the settlers, and the western posts had been suffered to remain in possession of the British, contrary to the treaty of peace. Thus exposed and deprived of the advantages of peace, which were enjoyed by the rest of the United States, destitute of money and the means of procuring it, a direct tax appeared to them unjust and oppressive. Unjust, because they had not received that protection which every government owes to her citizens; oppressive, because the tax was levied on the scanty product of their agricultural labor, and was required to be paid in specie, or its equivalent, which could not be furnished. Whether these opinions were well founded or not, it is doubtful whether even the law-biding descendants of the pilgrims would have quietly submitted to the law under just such circumstances. The settlers cultivated their land for years at the peril of their lives. Like the Jews under Nehemiah, their weapons of defence were never laid aside; and when by extraordinary efforts they were enabled to raise a little more grain than their immediate wants required, they were met with a law restraining them in the liberty of doing what they pleased with the surplus.

The policy of laying a direct tax on the products of labor, found few advocates in the western country, and many violent opposers. It was contended that the tax on whisky was but the commencement of a system of taxation as odious and oppressive as that of the British government, which had given rise to the war of the Revolution, and that, if the system were carried out, independence would prove but an empty name. It was argued that if rye could not be converted into whisky without a license from government, wool could not be converted into a hat, nor a hide into boots without their special permission; and that it was against just such assumptions of power that the American people had rebelled, and had continued for seven years to pour out their blood freely rather than submit to the evils and degrading consequences of British taxation. They had fought for liberty, and not for a change of masters; and while the wounds they had received in battling against tyrants were scarcely yet healed, it is not astonishing that they should regard with abhorrence the swarm of government officers which every where beset them, spying into their domestic affairs, and demanding, with official arrogance, more than a tithe of their hard labor. This was too much to be borne by men who were imbued with the wild spirit of liberty which then per-

vaded our country. Whatever might have been the necessities of government, or however defensible the principle of direct taxation, a more critical time to make the experiment could not have been selected. Our whole country was agitated with political discussions. The political volcano which had broken out in France, and was sweeping over Europe like a sea of lava, threatening to overwhelm in its fury all forms of government, cast its frightful glare across the Atlantic, and so perverted the political vision as to make law appear like tyranny, and anarchy like liberty.

J. Whipple

WILLIAM WHIPPLE'S LETTERS.

No. X.

Philadelphia, 14 December, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR—Since you left congress, Messrs. Jay and Duane have taken their seats. The first mentioned gentleman was last Thursday put into the chair, on the resignation of that worthy gentleman you left in it. I have so high an opinion of Mr. Laurens, that I must confess that I exceedingly regret his leaving the chair; however, I hope it is again well filled. Mr. Jay is a gentleman of acknowledged abilities and great application, and I have, therefore, no doubt that the business will be well conducted so far as it respects the president. The business of finance is in considerable forwardness; I hope in a few days more the present system will be finished by congress, and doubt not the states will do their part with alacrity. The tax will be very considerable, perhaps fifteen or eighteen millions; this seems a large sum, but when we consider the immense sum in circulation I cannot think it will be difficult to raise, provided it is justly proportioned.

Mr. Wheelock has been here with a number of applications, among which is one for money for the *Indian school*; this is not yet determined; another, that Riddle's regiment might be kept up; this produced an order that the regiment be immediately disbanded. He also brought a letter from a Joseph Marsh, a copy of which I have enclosed to the president, colonel Weare.

* * * * *

The enemy have been up Hudson river with fifty transports, burnt a number of huts near King's ferry and returned. It is supposed they expected to find some provisions there, but they were disap

pointed. By the last accounts from New York they still seem to be preparing to go off; but the season is so far advanced, I cannot believe they will go till spring. Our army is going into winter quarters.

I have much to say to you about some late publications, but time will not permit me to do so at present; I must therefore bid you adieu.

Yours, very sincerely,

HON. JOSIAH BARTLETT, }
New Hampshire. }



No. XI.

Portsmouth, September 23, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR—Your favor of the 3d instant did not come to hand until the 20th, owing, I suppose, to some interruption in the passage of the post through New York.

Our general court have issued precepts to call the house on the 21st December, and have adjourned to the first week in November. It is currently reported that congress have appointed a committee to confer with lord Howe; and, by what you write, I fear it is true. What purpose can this conference answer? I can conceive of none, unless it be to cause division among us—amuse the army and give the enemy an opportunity of taking some capital advantage—this, no doubt, is what his lordship has in view. He tells you he is vested with ample powers to accommodate matters, but cannot treat with congress. Who can he treat with? I believe that I may answer for him, that he will treat with any body that will apply to him for pardon. I must confess it grieves me that that body who are entrusted with the liberties of this extended continent, should be led by such phantoms; nothing that they can do will, in my opinion, lessen them more in the eyes of the public. I, therefore, wish it may not be true.

Those men who were taken in Canada with general Thompson, passed through this town yesterday. They made their escape in July, were some time among the French inhabitants, by whom they were very kindly treated. They came by Arnold's route to Kennebeck. It was reported before they left the French settlement, (which was about a month ago,) that general Thompson had sailed for New York.

A transport was sent in here yesterday by a small privateer belonging to Newburg. She was bound to St. Vincent, in the West Indies, with some others, for soldiers. She has on board twenty caldron of coals, and six month's provisions for one hundred men.

I heard from your family last Friday; they were then well. I shall set out in about twelve days, but suppose must go over Dobb's ferry, as it is probable the enemy have possession of York, at least that is the report here.

Yours, very sincerely,

HON. JOSIAH BARTLETT, }
New Hampshire. }



P. S. I this moment learned that a vessel is off the harbor bound for Newburg, twenty-nine days from Martinique. She sailed from thence in company with the Reprisal.

EXTRACTS FROM B. VAN CLEVE'S MEMORANDA.

IN March, 1792, I went a trip with boats to Fort Hamilton and returned in twelve days. A number of horses, belonging to the quarter-master, were sent to my old camp, three miles up Licking, to recruit, and I attended to them until the 10th day of May. In the evening of that day I was expected down to draw provisions. I arrived about dark. The quarter-master-general had determined to send me express to Philadelphia, and had been to my mother's and had my clothes packed up, a horse saddled, and every thing in readiness for my journey. I received my instructions from him and the commandant, and departed before midnight. The following are copies.

"The bearer hereof, Mr. Benjamin Van Cleve, being charged with public business at Philadelphia, all public officers and the good citizens of the United States are requested to aid and facilitate his journey, by furnishing him with such assistance as may become necessary. Given under my hand at Fort Washington, the 10th of May, 1792.

JA. WILKINSON, lieut. col. com.,
Commanding the troops of the U. S. on the Ohio."

"Fort Washington, May 10th, 1792.

"Sir—With the despatches you have in charge, you will proceed on the most direct route to Philadelphia. The forty dollars I have given you, I expect will be equal to your expenses; but if, through detention or by accident, it should prove insufficient, you will apply to the secretary of war, who will order you a further supply. You will write to me from Lexington and from the Crab Orchard, and particularly note the time you leave it, the company you go with, and

any other material occurrence. Your business must be communicated to no person whatever unless you want assistance, and in that case you will make use of general Wilkinson's letter. Call at my house in Philadelphia and take any commands from thence. I wish you a safe and speedy journey, and am,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL HODGDEN, Q. M. G.

MR. BENJAMIN VAN CLEVE.

[The details of the journey are omitted. The "*most direct route*" from Cincinnati to Philadelphia, it will be perceived, was by Lexington, Ky., and the Crab Orchard! Thence, the route was by Cumberland river, Cumberland mountain, Powell's valley, Abingdon, Botetourt, Lexington, Staunton, Martinsburg, Va., Hagerstown, Md., York, Lancaster, Penn., to Philadelphia, on the 7th of June. On the 25th of July, he received despatches from general Knox, secretary of war, to general Wayne, at Pittsburgh, which he delivered on the 4th of August. On the 7th, left Pittsburgh for Cincinnati, by the river, and arrived on the 31st.]

REBUILDING OF FORT MASSAC.

May 16th, 1794.—Engaged in the contractor's employ. Started on the 24th, with two contractor's boats loaded with provisions, in company with a detachment of soldiers, consisting of captain Guion's company of infantry, and a sergeant and six men of the artillery under major Thomas Doyle, to descend the Ohio to within twelve leagues of the Mississippi, to the site of the old Cherokee fort built by the French and sometimes called Fort Massac. We also had with us eight Chickasaw Indians, on their way home. On the 29th, landed at Fort Steuben, opposite Louisville. Passed the falls on the next day, and remained until the 4th of June preparing the boats to resist attacks, by lining them in order to make them bullet proof. On that day major Doyle arrested captain Guion and sent him back. Mrs. Doyle was left at Louisville, and the expedition proceeded. The boats were ordered to keep in exact order: the major's boat number 1, his kitchen boat number 2, the surgeon's boat number 3, the artillery number 4, boat with hogs and forage number 5, Wilson's boat number 6, our own number 7, the Indians number 8, cattle boat number 9, lieutenant Gregg in the rear number 10. Our boat was heavily loaded and weak in hands, so that when all were rowing we could not keep up, and when all were drifting we outwent the others. We ought, perhaps, to have made a proper representation of these circumstances to the major at the time, but he had sustained the

character of being haughty, arbitrary, and imperious, so that he was called king Doyle, when he commanded the post at Hamilton; we therefore thought it would be of no use, and we kept the current at night, which sometimes took us ten miles ahead against morning. It would then take the other boats, with hard rowing, half the day to overtake us. The men, by that time, would be pretty much fatigued, and we could manage very well to keep our place until night. We generally received a hearty volley of execrations for our disobedience of his orders; we returned mild excuses and determined to repeat the offence.

June 8.—Passed the Yellow Banks. Three families had settled here. This is the first settlement below Salt river, and there are only two others below, the one at the Red Banks and the other at Diamond island station.

June 9.—Passed the Red Banks and Diamond island.

June 10.—Began to stop occasionally and cut pickets and put them on board, to be ready to set up on our arrival at Massac.

June 11.—Cut more pickets. Met a Mr. Sela and family and three young men going up from the mouth of Cumberland to the Red Banks.—They concluded to turn back with us. Passed the Wabash at dark. At Saline we observed a fire on shore and hailed, when two Canadian French hunters came to us with their canoes loaded with skins, bear's oil, and dogs. One of them had passed twenty-six years in the wilderness between Vincennes and the Illinois river. Before morning we found three others, who went along with us to hunt for us.

June 12.—Passed Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, and landed at Massac in the evening. The soldiers put up pickets in a circular form at the upper corner of the old works, and brought up the artillery and ammunition, and we were in a good posture of defence before daylight next morning.

We were detained at Massac, unloading, &c., until the 3rd of July. On the 26th of June, a number of men enlisted in Tennessee, under officers commissioned by citizen Genet, the French ambassador to the United States, as they said; having nothing to do, they had volunteered to escort some salt boats from the mouth of Tennessee to Nashville, and through curiosity had come down to see us. Their real object, perhaps, was to examine our force and posture of defence. My comrades were acquainted with one of the men. They solicited us to go up with them, and, although it was a circuitous route, we concluded to take it, believing it to be the safest, and not knowing when another opportunity might offer for us to get home. Connor had a public rifle and went up to give it to the major. He cursed Connor, struck

him, and ordered him under guard; and, at the same time, ordered a corporal and file of men to bring us out of the boat to the guard house. The orders were given in our hearing. The corporal came with his guard into the boat, and, having been acquainted with me some time, delivered his orders to me. The major was walking backward and forward on top of the bank. With my gun in one hand and tomahawk in the other, and a knife eighteen inches long hanging at my side, dressed in a hunting frock, breechcloth and leggings, my countenance probably manifesting my excitement, I leaped out of the boat and with a very quick step went up the bank to the major. I looked like a savage, and the major, mistaking my intention, was alarmed and retired as I advanced. At length, as I approached him, he turned, and assuming a gentle voice and manner, bid me good morning. I stopped and paid him the same compliment and asked him if he wanted me. He observed that he understood we were going to leave him. He said his boat was going to start in eight days to the the Falls, to bring down Mrs. Doyle, which would afford us a better opportunity of getting home; that his party was weak and had hard service to perform in building the fort, and that we ought to stay until our boat was unloaded. I told him our instructions from the contractor were to return by the first opportunity, if it should even offer as soon as we had made our boat fast; that we considered that we were obeying his instructions, and that we had known of no other opportunity likely to offer. As his boat would afford a safer and more direct passage, I was willing to stay. By this time Gahagan, one of my comrades, was ascending the bank under the guard; the major told the corporal to let him go, and to discharge Connor, who was in the guard house. We accordingly staid until the major's boat started for the Falls, on the 3rd of July, and came that day above the mouth of Tennessee.

July 4.—Came some distance above Cumberland river.

July 5.—Came above the big cave in the rock. The sides were inscribed with a great number of names of persons who had visited it, some of them with the dates, a portion of them being quite remote.

July 6.—Passed the Saline and lay opposite the mouth of Wabash.

July 7.—Got to Diamond island station.

July 8.—Came to Red Banks.

July 9.—The weather unpleasant, and the company of the soldiers disagreeable. We determined to quit the boat and travel the residue of the way by land. Made preparations to set off in the morning. This place is a refuge, not for the oppressed, but for all the horse thieves, rogues and outlaws that have been able to effect their escape

from justice in the neighboring states. Neither law nor gospel has been able to reach here as yet. A commission of the peace had been sent by Kentucky to one Mason; and an effort had been made by the southwest territory (Tennessee,) to introduce law, as it was unknown as yet to which it belonged; but the inhabitants drove the persons away and insisted on doing without. I enquired how they managed to marry, and was told that the parties agreed to take each other for husband and wife before their friends. I was shown two cabins, with about the width of a street between them, where two men a short time ago had exchanged wives. An infair was given to-day by Mason, to a fellow named Kuykendall, who had run away from Carolina on account of crimes, and had run off with Mason's daughter to Diamond island station, a few weeks ago. The father had forbid him his house and had threatened to take his life, but had become reconciled, and had sent for them to come home. The parents and friends were highly diverted at the recital of the young couple's ingenuity in the courtship, and laughed heartily when the woman told it. She said she had come down stairs after all the family had retired, having her petticoat around her shoulders, and returned with him through her parent's room, with the petticoat around both; and in the morning she brought him down in the same manner before daylight. This Kuykendall, I was told, always carried in his waistcoat pockets "devil's claws," instruments, or rather weapons, that he could slip his fingers in, and with which he could take off the whole side of a man's face at one claw. We left them holding their frolic. [I afterwards heard that Kuykendall was killed by some of the party at the close of the ball. A few years afterwards, Mason and his sons, with some others, formed a party and waylaid the road between Natchez and Tennessee, and committed many daring robberies and murders.]

July 10.—Left Red Banks. Our company consisted of William Gahagan, Aaron Conner, a Mr. Overby, of Vincennes, and myself.

July 11.—Came to Green river about ten o'clock, and each made a raft, with an armfull of wood and a grape-vine, to bear our clothes and guns, and then, taking the vines in our mouths, swam the river, dragging our rafts after us. In the afternoon struck the Ohio at Hurricane island, and in the evening arrived at the Yellow Banks.

July 12, 13, 14.—Traveled through the wilderness nearly a due east course, and on the 14th arrived at Harding's station.

July 15.—Traveled forty miles to Mr. Van Meters, the first settler in Severn's valley.

July 26.—Arrived in Cincinnati. Some of the spies had come in

for ammunition, and solicited me to join them; but my feet were almost worn out, as well as my clothes. They were going to return on foot, and I was not able to stand the journey. I should have gone, if I had got home from Massac a few days sooner.

Taken sick on the 4th of August and laid until the end of the month.

B. Van Cleave

(To be continued.)

FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN OHIO.

THE following account of the first white child born in Ohio, we have received from under her own hand. She is the daughter of the Rev. John Heckewelder, whose early labors as a Moravian missionary among the Indians are well known. From the great accuracy of her memory, and from the beauty of her hand writing, as well as from her easy style of writing, we are led to hope for many an interesting narrative from our fair correspondent. Her narratives, we trust, will not embrace merely Indian history, in which her friends say she is a real proficient, but also many anecdotes relative to revolutionary and subsequent times. The readers of the Pioneer would, among other things, be much interested and instructed by an account of the rise, progress, and regulations of the town of Bethlehem, Pa., which, from the singular beauty of its police and arrangements, has always been an object of admiration.

Bethlehem, Pa., February 24th, 1843.

J. S. WILLIAMS, Esq.

Dear Sir—Yours of the 31st ult., to Mr. Kummen, post master at this place, has been handed to me. I have not been in the habit of making much use of my pen for a number of years; I will, however, at your request, endeavor to give you a short account of the first four years of my life, which were all I spent amongst the Indians, having since lived in Bethlehem nearly all the time. My acquaintance or knowledge of them and their history, is chiefly from books, and what I heard from my father and other missionaries.

I was born April 16th, 1781, in Salem, one of the Moravian Indian towns, on the Muskingum river, state of Ohio. Soon after my birth, times becoming very troublesome, the settlements were often in danger from war parties, and from an encampment of warriors near Gnadenhutten; and finally, in the beginning of September of the same year, we were all made prisoners. First, four of the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prison-

ers of war; they were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death-song was sung over them. Soon after they had secured them, a number of warriors marched off for Salem and Shoenbrun. About thirty savages arrived at the former place in the dusk of the evening, and broke open the mission house. Here they took my mother and myself prisoners, and having led her into the street and placed guards over her, they plundered the house of every thing they could take with them and destroyed what was left. Then going to take my mother along with them, the savages were prevailed upon, through the intercession of the Indian females, to let her remain at Salem till the next morning—the night being dark and rainy and almost impossible for her to travel so far—they at last consented on condition that she should be brought into the camp the next morning, which was accordingly done, and she was safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhutten.

After experiencing the cruel treatment of the savages for sometime, they were set at liberty again; but were obliged to leave their flourishing settlements, and forced to march through a dreary wilderness to Upper Sandusky. We went by land through Goshachguenk to the Walholding, and then partly by water and partly along the banks of the river, to Sandusky creek. All the way I was carried by an Indian woman, carefully wrapped in a blanket, on her back. Our journey was exceedingly tedious and dangerous; some of the canoes sunk, and those that were in them lost all their provisions and everything they had saved. Those that went by land drove the cattle, a pretty large herd. The savages now drove us along, the missionaries with their families usually in the midst, surrounded by their Indian converts. The roads were exceedingly bad, leading through a continuation of swamps.

Having arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built small huts of logs and bark to screen them from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen almost every thing, both from the missionaries and Indians, on the journey. We lived here extremely poor, oftentimes very little or nothing to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and the poorest of the Indians were obliged to live upon their dead cattle, which died for want of pasture.

After living in this dreary wilderness, in danger, poverty, and distress of all sorts, a written order arrived in March, 1782, sent by the governor to the half king of the the Hurons and to an English officer in his company, to bring all the missionaries and their families to Detroit, but with a strict order not to plunder nor abuse them in the

least. The missionaries were overwhelmed with grief at the idea of being separated from their Indians; but there being no alternative, they were obliged to submit to this, one of the heaviest of their trials. The poor Indians came weeping to bid them farewell, and accompanied them a considerable way, some as far as Lower Sandusky. Here we were obliged to spend several nights in the open air, and suffered great cold besides other hardships. April 14th, we set out and crossed over a part of the lake, and arrived at Detroit by the straits which join the lakes Erie and Huron. We were lodged in the barracks by order of the governor. Some weeks after, we left the barracks with his consent and moved into a house at a small distance from the town.

The Indian converts, gathering around their teachers, they resolved with the consent of the governor, to begin the building of a new settlement upon a spot about thirty miles from Detroit, on the river Huron, which they called New Gnadenhutzen, and which increased considerably from time to time. Here I lived till the year 1785, when I set out with an aged missionary couple to be educated in the school at Bethlehem. We commenced our journey about the middle of May, and arrived at the latter place July 8th, after a very tedious and perilous journey—proceeding down the river Huron into lake St. Clair, thence to Detroit, and crossing Lake Erie to Niagara and Oswego, thence down Oswego river to Lake Oneida, thence down the Waldbah to Fort Stanwix. We then arrived at a carrying place at the Mohawk river, and proceeded to Schenectady; went by land to Albany, and then by water to New Windsor, and again by land to Bethlehem.

I fear my account has become rather too long and tedious. I am much obliged to you, sir, for the *Pioneer*, it is a most interesting work, and I wish I could but gain some patronage for you; but money is so scarce, there is at present no prospect.

It pleased me much what you said of the Indians, and I fully concur with you in the belief that if they were better known, as to their motives of action, &c., we would find them to be in the right where we believe them to be in the wrong. The Indians always were and are the wisest governors unless misled by the whites. They are indeed a noble race of men, far surpassing us, considering their uncivilized state. I wish you much success in your noble undertaking.

Respectfully yours,

Mary H. Buckwelder

NOTITIA OF INCIDENTS AT NEW ORLEANS,
IN 1804 AND 1805.

As made at the time by JOHN F. WATSON, since the author of *Annals of Philadelphia*, and other publications. He has informed us that they were written originally as memoranda solely for his own eye, and therefore without regard to public inspection and criticism, as *notitia* of passing events, "which not e'en critics may criticise." The *American Pioneer* has introduced us to his acquaintance, and he has kindly, at our expressed wish, allowed us to make the following extracts. To those who may now know New Orleans in its present greatness and grandeur, it may show another "state of men and manners once." The same gentleman has preserved, until now, a quire book of folio cap paper filled with his manuscript *daily occurrences* from Pittsburgh to New Orleans in 1804, which we should be glad to use for our journal; but, as he says, we have so lately given the journal of Dr. Hildreth along the same waters, he would consider himself as the humble agent of "a twice told tale." We were pleased with this remark which prefaced his Diary:—"I intend this as a dedicated memento to my family, so that in case some of them go over these regions some forty or fifty years hence, they may remember their kinsman, and feel the force of this couplet—'Twill soothe to be where he has been, and please the eye too see what he has seen.'" We are, however, allowed to hope that he will yet permit its insertion.

We deem that from such chances as the present—of publishing from manuscript pages—that we prove the utility of our work as a journal devoted to gathering up and preserving from various contributors, those fragments too small for publication by themselves, and those reminiscences now fast passing away, which otherwise *would be forever lost!* Let others follow the example, and send us speedily their recollections, and whatever they know to be curious and surprising to the present generation. And we would further remark to the friends of the *Pioneer*, and of this experiment and unique enterprise, that without more patronage the work must sink at the end of the present year, and that at a heavy sacrifice by the editor.

Arrived at New Orleans, Saturday, 26th May, 1804. Take lodgings at Madame Fournier's at forty-five dollars per month. Am soon surprised to find in the streets unexpected acquaintances, such as lieutenant Reynolds, captain Carmack, and others of the marine corps; saw, too, Dr. Rogers, of Washington city, and lawyer Nicols. I find the city much larger and handsomer than I expected. All the houses are different from any that I have seen before, in their style of architecture and fabric—such quantities of shipping, too, are surprising. The streets are more alive with population, and there is an

out-door activity of business, that even now surpasses Philadelphia, from which I have come. The chief of the houses are of brick and plastered over smoothly with white mortar; few of them are above one story, unless they are public edifices; all are more decorated with ornamental work than any I have before seen. One story houses, however, have their ground-floor part so high as to make good store-houses. Almost all of them have galleries around them.

[Here follows some notices of the yellow fever, as sickening and killing sundry of his friends in the months of July, August, September and October; to which is appended the remark, that the disease seems to be as fatal to the Louisianians coming from the country as to strangers, but not to the natives who dwell in the place. He himself escaped sickness.]

November 4—The birth day of the king of Spain is celebrated with considerable pomp by the Spanish officers still here. The governor, Felch, of Pensacola, and suite, being here, they all go in procession to mass. Our governor, Clairborne, with his suite, joins therein. They all dine at the marquis de Casso Calvoi: a military band plays during the time of the entertainment. I had given my letter from general Wilkinson to general Felch soon after I arrived.

Ladies in this country never visit strangers *first*. All expect to be visited by the ladies newly arrived. Our ladies will not yield to this seemingly awkward position, and therefore they pass without native society. Gentlemen cannot visit young ladies often unless they declare themselves as intended suitors.

All floors here are scrubbed with brickdust. I have never seen or eaten any butter here!—it might be made. There is no copper coin in circulation; one can't buy any thing for less than a six cent piece, called a *picayune*.

We made our first parlor fire on the 9th November. At this time oranges first began to be sold perfectly ripe.

November 16th—captain Manual Corcia, of the Spanish army, taken prisoner here. December 10th—found my wash basin frozen with ice one-fourth of an inch thick; slept under two or three blankets and even felt cold—found ice in a gutter to slide on! Cotton begins to come to market in the middle of December. December 30th—found ice this morning. January 1—Ice again, and it hails a little. January 3rd—Ice again. (P They never see any *snow* here.

January 1—Gave a dinner to the officers of the garrison—colonel Freeman, chief commander, present; made it a cheerful occasion. The first part of January, three or four flatboats arrived from Charleston on the Ohio; were twelve weeks to three months in coming.

They had taken out half their cargoes to get over the falls. By their early arrival they sell their flour at twelve and a half dollars.

Masquerades have ceased here since eight or nine years past ; but *sherri-varries* are still practised. They consist in mobbing the house of a widow when she marries; and they claim a public donation as a gift. When Madame Don Andre was married, she had to compromise by giving to the out-door mass three thousand dollars in solid coin! On such occasions the mob are ludicrously disguised. In her case there were effigies of her late and present husband in the exhibition drawn in a cart : there her former husband lays in a coffin, and the widow is personated by a living person, and sits near it. The house is mobbed by thousands of the people of the town, vociferating and shouting with loud acclaim ; hundreds are seen on horseback ; many in disguise-dresses and masks ; and all have some kind of discordant and noisy music, such as old kettles, and shovels, and tongs, and clanging metals can strike out. Every body looks waggish, merry, and pleased. Very genteel men can be recognized in such a melee. All civil authority and rule seems laid aside. This affair, as an extreme case, lasted *three entire days*, and brought in crowds from the country ! It was made extreme because the second husband was an unpopular man, of humble name, and she was supposed to have done unworthily. Their *resistance* to yield *any homage* to the mob, caused the *exaction*, and the whole sum was honorably given to the orphans of the place. [At a later period, Edward Livingston, esq., was *sherri-varried* here ; on which occasion the parties came out promptly to the balcony and thanked the populace for their attention, and invited them to walk into the court-yard and partake of some of their prepared cheer. The compliment was received with acclamations and good wishes for many years of happiness, and the throng dispersed, none of the genteel partaking of any refreshment.] When a *sherri-varrie* is announced, it is done by a running cry through the streets, as we cry fire, fire ! and then every man runs abroad, carrying along with him any kind of clanging instrument, or any kind of grotesque mask or dress. All this comes from an indisposition to allow ladies *two chances* for husbands, in a society where so few single ladies find even one husband ! a result, it is to be presumed, of the concubinage system so prevalent here.

The carnival commenced the 5th January, 1805 ; an occasion of great processions and entertainments. The 10th, considerable hail and rain ; the 11th, much ice—the rain cask bore four fifty-six pound weights on the ice ! The 25th, appeared the first flood and drift wood coming down the Mississippi. The 28th, the river had risen five or

six feet. February 1, ice, supposed the last for the season. The river kept up for about seven days; is still higher than previous to the freshet. Flatbottomed boats get on once in a while. The trees begin budding about the last week of February. The first week in March the trees blossom. The river again rises fast. At the 8th of March the river is nearly as high as when I arrived in May last. The 11th of March was a very cold day; a north wind. Nankeen pantaloons have been worn by some from the first of March: I began to wear them about the middle of March, but occasionally it is too cold. After the first of April nankeen is in general wear. Only two boats of flour arrived before the 1st of April; several then came. The river was quite high. A flat boat arrived here from Charleston, Va., and five from Pittsburgh. About the 1st of April we first begin to use musquito curtains; only a few of these annoyers, (musquitoes,) then appeared in the night.

From the 10th to the 13th is the *Holy week*.—The scourging of Christ, his crucifixion and ascension, &c., are severally celebrated in the several days. On Thursday, all the Catholics visit the several churches to kiss the feet of Jesus, (*"le bon dieu."*) He appears setting, bruised, grievous, and crowned with thorns. Some kissed with great devotion and remained long on their knees. The lower class—the negroes, mulattoes, &c., sit and kneel in the aisles *on the pavements*, &c. Mothers bring their infants; some cry and occasion other disturbances; some are seen counting their beads with much attention and remain long on their knees; some are running over their *ave marias*; others of less devotion are seen whispering, and smiling, and careless. On Monday (the day of Ascension) the priest, with the host and an altar, issue from the cathedral and go round the Place D'Arms in solemn procession, chanting, crossing, and smoking frankincense. As the host is held on high, the people fall down and worship in the street; all walk uncovered. Each side of the pass is decorated with green boughs. The ladies, too, threw flowers from their balconies upon the altar as it was borne along below them.

The dearth in Louisiana has been singular. The evening of the 23d April we had a short rain, having had but one rain (on the 7th of March) since the 7th of February last. The soil gave many signs of approaching harm; it happened, too, that part of the season was usually the "rainy one." The musquitoes become general the first of June. The middle of June the river begins to fall. The storm of 20th June, at south-east, made the water much lower during the night, three feet at least. Next night as many more. Several vessels are left aground, and require much labor to get them off; all the

barges and flats are left aground, and several flats with their cargoes got sunk.

The summer of 1805 is excessively rainy. The ladies are beautiful in person, gestures, and action; all are brunettes; few are blue eyed or light haired; none have color in their cheeks, but none look unhealthy. Young ladies do not dare to ride out or appear abroad with young gentlemen; but ladies frequently ride abroad in a chair, (*volante*,) managing the horse themselves. Their *volante* carriages are very ugly. Often they drive mules, and sometimes horses and mules are driven three or four abreast. They usually drive in gallops; no trotting is seen. Ladies all dress their own hair without curls or ornaments. Girls are never forward or garrulous in conversation; they are all retired and modest in their deportment, and very mild and amiable. I have never seen a presumptuous talkative rattle-cap or hoyden here.

The heat is not oppressive; we have wind in the forenoons and afternoons; the mornings and evenings are cool. The thermometer at 93 is a common temperature: the inhabitants say this is a very hot summer. The retail groceries are generally kept by Spaniards, who are called Catalans, (from Catalonia, I suppose,) and seem to be great Jews in their trade.

The ladies appear seldom abroad before the evening; then they set at their doors or walk on the levee. This levee (the rising) is earth thrown up to keep the river out of the town, as a barrier in extreme risings of the water. Back of the town is a great extent of cypress swamp.

Two miles back from the town is a place called the Bayou, (the creek,) which is the head of a creek coming from the lake. There is there a good collection of houses and a place of public entertainment called the Tivoli, (a new affair,) at which is a ball once a week. Parties descend the creek to the lake to fish and bathe. There the water is salt. Crossing the lake is a pleasing and common excursion; it looks and feels much like going to sea. Many vessels come from Pensacola and other places, into this Bayou St. John.

New Orleans has four forts at the four corners of the town, and a levee entirely surrounds the whole place. The forts in the rear are going to ruin, but those in the front are guarded by soldiers. The public edifices have an air of grandeur and costliness. The government or governor's house is on the front street near the river. The military barracks range along the street fronting the levee. The public stores are two rows of two story buildings, of which I have the occupancy of a part. In the next street back, is the principal, or

town-house with the prison under the same roof. The great church is adjoining, and has two steeples in front; all are formed of brick, plastered white. Both of these last were presented to the king of Spain by Don Andre, (whose widow was before mentioned) that he might be created a marquis. Hewry, a rich man, and his widow now owns all the houses built round the Place D'Arms. The ball-room is a large *one story* wooden frame building, without any pretensions to show. The hospital is in the last street of the town, in the rear. Colonel Freeman, the American commander, is content to live in a *one story* house; it has, however, good rooms within. Houses in New Orleans have a pretty appearance, and display much taste. They have no trees to shade them; fig and orange trees are too low and small for shade. People generally live up stairs in the large houses, and rent out the lower part for stores. One large door supplies the place of entrance, window lights, and every thing; many houses have no glass lights.

There are very few high houses—the soil sinks with very heavy structures, and it is said they are afraid of hurricanes. In general they do not exceed two stories, and numerous houses are but one story, with high roofs to make bedchambers therein.

Sabbaths are not observed—all stores are open in the forenoon, and at night there are balls and sometimes plays, &c.

Lizards are common in the yards of houses, and on the fences, and on the projections of houses, &c. Houses have no cellars in any case; digging a few feet brings you to water, which is diffused from the river through the whole town.

I often see negroes put up for sale, and I see vessels loaded with them for sale also. In the latter they are made to dance and seem lively and healthy to enhance their value. They assemble in great masses on the levee on Sundays, and make themselves glad with song, dance, and merriment. "Light-hearted wretches!" in *them* the wind seems indeed "tempered to the shorn lamb." They *do* enjoy themselves!

The goods here are drawn in carts with very high wheels, which are never *tired* nor the axles *ironed*. They make much squeaking, and were so formerly ordered by the Spanish government to prevent smuggling.

There are still here many Spanish officers; they are not genteel in their appearance, or well clad; indeed they seem to have no military taste. There is one, a captain, who is said to be much like Washington, and because he has been told of it, he takes care to keep up his uniform, &c. When they go to church they all assemble at the marquis de

Casso Calvoi, and go thence in procession. The marquis has his own guard regularly on duty at his door! In passing the American guard at the town house, next the church, it is put under arms, and they and the drums salute the Spanish officers. The same attention is paid by our guard when the host passes at a funeral, with this difference, that in the latter case the guard ranges without arms and with their hats or caps off and in hand.

Very large black grasshoppers, called *cheval du diable*, or devil's horses, burrow in all the ground. They are, I believe, the same thing as craw-fish, or the shrimps which they use for food. They come up any where and every where in the night in the streets, making little chimneys of mud to mark their whereabouts.

None of the streets have pavements; and after a rain the black loamy, greasy state of the earth, might make it easy enough of sleighing! It is wholly alluvial, without grit or stones. On such occasions we all walk on the long line of single logs, set at the line of the foot way as the water sewer. There is some fun in contending for this single walk in wet days!

Few persons swim in the Mississippi. Grown people bathe at home; children bathe themselves back of the town, in the flat ditches. Alligators occupy the river and scare men off.

Vegetables are very cheap and plenty. Few persons milk cows although cattle are plenty and cheap. Horses here are very small and spirited; they live chiefly on cornblades, brought every day to market in bundles for six cents.

There are beautiful yellow women here; none have more ambition than to become the concubine of a white gentleman. They are content to live at an expense of about four hundred dollars a year. Many are so maintained. They make most of the clothes which are worn—they charge much less than the tailors do.

Shrimps are much eaten here; also a dish called *gumbo*. This last is made of every eatable substance, and especially of those shrimps which can be caught at any time, at the river side, by a small net, Cheap food and quickly had!

All the water drunk and used for washing is brought from the river. It costs eighteen and three-fourth cents for drawing a hogshead; the water under ground is only useful in cleaning floors, &c. The burying-ground back of the town comes to water when digging to two or three feet. A sad contemplation!

The levee formerly was shaded with willow and orange trees. There are now but few of them left.

August 4.—I went out to the Tivoli entertainment. There was
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a very brilliant assemblage of ladies engaged in dancing. This dancing seems strange in mid-summer! They began on the 4th of July. They have much of waltzing, and this dancing is continued every *Sunday night*! They have also fireworks and set off balloons, &c. The company generally *walk* to this place, though two miles distant! I have seen ladies of the best families of the town, full dressed and *riding in an ox cart*, going out to this place. This shows the state of simplicity belonging to the primitive manners here. None of them show vain-glorious pride—a lady never refusing any decent stranger who asks her to dance, even though he is without introduction. I have seen a very *genteel* tinman, a Frenchman, waltzing with the Spanish intendant's daughter more than once. This intercourse, *for the occasion*, imposed no necessity for being acquainted beyond the walls of the ball room.

All religion here seems to be exterior and formal. There is no such thing as public preaching. The gentlemen in general seem exempt from religious service—they give no attendance at mass. Visit the churches when you will, and the chief of the audience is formed of mulattresses and negresses—the chief devotees seem to be the concubines; in truth, they are a good race of women; they are faithful ones who never desert their *maris* (or supporters) in any case of adversity. They do not marry, because custom holds that to be odious; but *that* not being their fault, they are, in all respects, good as wives in general, frugal in their habits and innocent in their lives and deportment. It is a queer position! They are not unlike the worthy concubines of old.

The marshal, the harbor-master, the governor, and other *civil* officers wear a uniform. The watchmen are Spaniards. On the 2nd of October I saw the governor sworn into office. The French are the most *irregular* people at a funeral—they never go in couples, but all crowd nearest to the coffin and priests, going onward *en masse*.

The French, Spanish, and Americans here, keep very separate society. The Americans congregate much together, and the French, except in business, keep much aloof; but I enter into society freely among them, and find them very friendly and agreeable. With a Spanish family (Castinado, an officer,) I am made very friendly. I must say I like these people in many things, none more than in their exemption from art and guile. Let me cite one case. Being at the theatre one night when it came on to rain, the wife of the *sheriff* of New Orleans, and the daughter of a Spanish captain, both pulled off their silk stockings and gave them to me to carry, and, casting the skirts of their gowns over their heads, set off home *on foot*, making

merry all the way. The Spaniards are very faithful in their pledges and promises—a sealed bag of one thousand dollars will pass many hands without counting and without fear of fraud, provided they know the hands. I must speak for the modesty and amiable diffidence of the young French ladies. They have a prevailing belief that *we Americans* are great drinkers; and I find myself somewhat in favor, because I am not found among those who love to revel and riot. Many of my countrymen have become degenerate and gross livers here; several of them are *supported* by their concubines.

This is a simple people—they indulge in no extravagance of expense; they are fond of gait and dancing, but it is all cheaply done. The admittance to a ball is but a half dollar and the ladies go gratis. You there buy a cup of chocolate, or of “beef tea,” or a glass of lemonade for six cents. The ladies’ dresses are mostly of white muslin, and sometimes of silk of gay colors, but never costly, always neatly and modestly made. They aim at no exposure of person.

The *dashing* Americans, coming in daily, are affecting to raise extravagance among the simple and frugal inhabitants. Gigs and fine imported horses are setting up; gay furniture is also introduced. These are incipient innovations, destined to prevail in the end as an accompaniment to success, wealth, and pride. But, at present, the furniture here is plain and unpretending; the window and *door* curtains are of common white India muslins. I am constrained to perceive that *we* are proud, vain glorious, and ostentatious, compared with them. We are already great sticklers here, for our relative caste and rank; already we begin to aim at *select balls*, and to raise the price of admission *on ourselves!* But the minds of the French and the few Spanish here are not at all moved by such motives. They feel cordial and equal respect for all ranks and conditions who have good manners and deportment. ’Tis *good conduct* which rules with them.

The *boys* here never romp or riot in the streets at rude play. They all affect long coats and boots, and are studiously tout a faut, *petit maitres*, even from their earliest boyhood; wanton mischief forms no part of their character. The mischief of *our* boys is an *English* vice, an innate love of destruction!

The most of the ornamental part of female attire is made by themselves, always very neat and tasteful. They have a conspicuous hair jewel, or breast or waist buckle of gold, or rich beads, ornaments which last for a life. They, at no time, wear caps, turbans or bonnets! no bonnets are ever seen even in the streets! They cover their hair with a graceful veil.

I deem it a singular fact, that there is no such thing as a *lewd house* of frail women in the city of New Orleans! It will be our countrymen who will change this character when it comes to be changed. In the meantime we talk at home of the *wickedness* of the Creoles of New Orleans, because they have never been taught to make *the sabbath* a day of solemnity. They have, however, done all that their priests, as the rulers of their consciences, required of them. They have not "sinned against light and knowledge," as we "from the states" have often done.

The colored women have, in general, handsomer skin than the whites; they do not fade so soon, and yet many of them look as fair. These colored women have their weekly balls, (called *quartroon balls*) at which none but white gentlemen attend. Their whole deportment in them is chaste and civil.

If a gentleman determines to provide for a *quartroon* alliance, and the female is still young, he always applies to her mother, when he makes it a matter of regular negotiation. He is expected to provide furniture, a slave for the house-work, and sometimes a small house, all to be previously settled on the concubine. Many men have made such engagements, intending them to be temporary, who have become as much attached to the women and children as if formally married for life. They adhere to them and leave them all their fortune. None of these children, however rich, can divest themselves of their *caste*—they must do as their predecessors—the daughters can at most *settle* as their mothers before them. It is a miserable confusion of blood and rank which is thus instituted and perpetuated. I do not know of a single case of a white gentleman marrying any one of the concubines, but I know those who deplored their position.

They neither kill or sell any *veal*; they *skin* hog meat, and they sell beef with all the bones taken out; they sell all the fat part of the hog separate from the lean, and a single pound of meat is a common sale. They procure beef cattle from Apoulouses—feed them little when driving, finally swim them across the river at the city, and kill them in an open grass lot. They start fat, but grow poorer every day. In swimming them across, three-fourths of a mile, some of them drown, and others have to be helped. In selling most things in the market, they sit on mats on the ground; only the meat butchers have stalls. The market ground is by the river side, and small; nothing attractive in it, but the reverse.

There is nothing for which a northern man so much longs for here as a hill or rising ground. Wherever he goes through this perpetual *level*, he is continually reminded of *the absence* of a single elevation.

It might even cheer his eyes and please his heart to see an artificial mound of rock and earth, as in China. He cannot even find a stone or pebble to cast at a bird on the road.

We perceived and felt another deprivation—it was a place of worship. It might seem strange, but it was so, that although we were wholly worldly men in our affections and habits, that *we felt* the absence of our former familiar places of worship, and almost longed as much to hear some of the “songs of Zion” as the captive Jews on the banks of Babylon. A cause like this operated strongly upon many of us, and when I had prepared the public mind to the subject, by sundry anonymous pieces in the daily journal, a town meeting was called; we found men without religious profession very cordial for an immediate creation of a place of English worship. The majority of us were of Presbyterian education, but when I advocated *church service*, because it was a less remove from the popish service to which all are familiar here, it was promptly preferred; and a committee was forthwith appointed to bring out Mr. Chase from New York to *begin* this new order of things. One of the persons most hearty in this measure was an elderly Scotch gentleman of fortune, who had a large family of respectable colored children grown up. I became acquainted with his interest in the matter by his earnest entreaty with the printer to be allowed to know the writer of some of these articles. He visited me, and with tears in his eyes said he would gladly contribute one thousand dollars to such a measure. The teachings of mothers in their nurseries, and at the fireside, are *powerfully* remembered in a foreign land—far, far from the familiar objects of home!

John B. Watson

MR. SHARP'S LETTER.

Warren county, Mo., March 3d, 1843.

MR. WILLIAMS—I observe your correspondent mentions a Mr. Gist, or Gest, in Pioneer vol. ii. number ii. p. 59. I presume this was colonel Nathaniel Gist, of revolutionary memory. If I am not mistaken, he served as a captain in Washington's regiment during the old war, commonly called Braddock's war. In the year 1776, he was the British superintendent of the southern Indians, and was then in the Cherokee nation; and when colonel Christian carried his expedition into the Indian country he surrendered himself to him, and, although the inhabitants were so exasperated at him that almost every

one that mentioned his name would threaten his life, yet Christian conveyed him through the frontier settlements unmolested; and he went on to head-quarters to general Washington, where I suppose the former friendship was revived. He became a zealous whig, and obtained, through the general's influence, as was supposed, a colonel's commission in the continental army, and as far as I know served with reputation during the war. He afterwards settled in Kentucky, where he died not very many years ago. I well recollect of the friends of general Jackson here, boasting that a young luxuriant hickory had sprung out of his grave and was growing in honor of old hickory face, the hero of New Orleans. One of his uncles, also a colonel Nathaniel Gist, was uncle to my wife by marriage; and his younger brother, Richard Gist, lived a close neighbor to my father in the year 1780, and went on the expedition to King's mountain, and fell there within twenty-five or thirty steps of the British lines, of which I am yet a living witness.

In an early day, at the first settling of Mayo river, now Patrick county in Virginia, the Indians made a horrid breach in that settlement, but I am unable to name the year or month in which it happened. Several families were destroyed and a number of prisoners carried off. Richard Fulkerson, an uncle of my wife, and his family, with the exception of his wife and two small children, were killed; and, although I have seen both their children after they grew up, yet I cannot say by what means they escaped from the massacre. Peter Fulkerson, another of her uncles, and his wife and child, were taken prisoners. Fulkerson himself had escaped and was out of danger, but finding that his wife and child were taken, for their sakes he turned and went to the Indians and gave himself up. They were taken to Chillicothe, where poor Fulkerson suffered a painful, lingering death, by being burned for several days, as the manner of the Indians then was. His widow was afterwards stolen from the Indians and brought in by some man, but I cannot name him; and as for the fate of the child, whether it died, was left among the Indians, or what become of it, I cannot say. When the Indians delivered up all their white prisoners on the pacification after Wayne's campaign, there was one woman advertised for several months, who said her name was Fulkerson; she had an Indian husband and children, and was in great distress for fear she should be parted from them. She could give no account of her parentage nor where she was taken from, and, as no one appeared to claim her, she was permitted to return to the Indians with her husband. It is more than probable that she was Peter Fulkerson's child, especially as I think it was said to be a female. If you

could find any one that could give a full and correct narrative of this affair it would be worth recording, for mine indeed is a very vague one; but I know of no one to whom I can refer you for better information

In vol. II. number II. there are two small errors of the type in the battle on King's mountain. Page 67, for eat a *hearty* meal, read a *hasty* meal, for a hearty one it was not. Page 68, for 1133 prisoners read 1183. You see this has neither been copied nor well corrected, but I trust that you can make it out; but if not I can excuse you, for indeed it is as much as I can do myself. I was once a swift and fair writer, but those days are gone by; you must indulge the infirmities of age and do the best you can. When a person can neither see to make or mend his pen, nor has nerve to guide it when made, you must not expect fair writing.

I am preparing the history of another important expedition, from the Holstein country, which you will receive as soon as I can get it ready.

I send you a song by way of embellishment, if any production of mine can be said to embellish the Pioneer. If it please you it may be inserted, and if not you may lay it by and say nothing about it; that will never prevent me from subscribing myself,

Your most devoted, &c.

Benj. Sharp

THE TRUE-HEARTED FARMER.

TUNE—*Old Oaken Bucket*.—(Kinloch of Kinloch.)

Abroad as I roam, through country or city,
Through high life, or low life, of ev'ry degree,
The gay or facetious, the grave or the witty,
Alike have but slender attractions with me,
When I'm for the friend that will never deceive me,
Who steals my affections, I cannot tell how,
I instantly leave the gay circle, believe me,
And seek for the farmer that follows the plough.

The true-hearted farmer, the high-minded farmer,
The plain honest farmer that follows the plough.

The merchant may talk of his wares and his treasure,
The lawyer may prate of the suits he has gain'd,
The statesman, in scheming and finance take pleasure,
The warrior may boast of the fields he sustain'd;
Each one, if with prudence he fills up his station,
Ofttimes will be useful we all must allow;

Military Order of Governor Meigs.

But still the successful of all occupations
Depends on the farmer that follows the plough.
The hard-working farmer, the brown-handed farmer,
The plain honest farmer that follows the plough.

Ye fair, in whose bosoms some tender emotion
Impels you to wish for a change in your life,
Who long to experience, with ardent devotion,
The social endearments of husband and wife ;
And wish for the lad that will never perplex you,
But still may be constant and true to his vow ;
Fly, fly from the coxcomb, whose folly may vex you,
And wed with the farmer that follows the plough.
The sprightly young farmer, the handsome young farmer,
The kind-hearted farmer that follows the plough.

His fields and his meadows, his garden and dairy,
His flocks and his lambkins that frolic and play,
His orchards and woodlands, so gay and so airy,
All breathing the balmy sweet fragrance of May ;
Amid such profusion of sweets he will meet you
With love in his heart and grace on his brow ;
Such, such are the pleasures that ever will greet you,
If wed to the farmer that follows the plough.
The frugal young farmer, the healthy young farmer,
The kind hearted farmer that follows the plough.

Benj. Sharp

Head Quarters, Dayton, May 26th, 1812.

Captain Van Cleve's company of riflemen will march to the frontiers of the state, west of the Miami, under the direction and charge of colonel Holt. Colonel Holt will assist the frontier inhabitants in erecting block-houses in suitable places, and adopt any mode he may think best for the protection of the frontiers and the continuance of the settlements.

R. S. Meigs
Governor of Ohio.





Sullivan, del. G. H. R. sc.
THE LOWER PART OF ANCIENT COVERT WAY AS IT DESCENDS TO THE MUSKINGUM.